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SPEECHES

OF

HON. MARCUS A. SMITH,

OF ARIZONA,

DELIVERED IN

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

April 7th, 1898, and June 15th, 1898.

**THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY AND
OUR RELATIONS WITH SPAIN,**

AND

THE HAWAIIAN QUESTION.

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"We had better admit our territories and encourage their development before
we begin doubtful deals in islandic real estate."

"To refuse self-government in this country is a political crime."

WASHINGTON.

1898.

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Mr. W. A. Smith

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The Reorganization of the Regular Army.

SPEECH

OF

HON MARCUS A. SMITH,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 7, 1898,

On the bill (H. R. 9253) for the better organization of the line of the Army of the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill for the reorganization of the Army does not meet my entire approbation. It is called a "Regular Army" bill, when in fact it is a Volunteer Army at last. Why not make it a Volunteer Army bill and let the recruits under officers of their own selection go forth with their pride of locality to fight, if need be, the battles of our country? Under this bill few, if any, brave, ambitious men will enlist. Their identity and that of their company will be lost. Without pride in the name of their State—their locality—their neighbors, who, shoulder to shoulder with them in deeds of daring, shall carry to honor their country's banner—I say without these incentives the recruits under this bill, instead of being the best, will, I fear, prove the worst soldiers we could possibly enlist. Yet I refuse to oppose my committee on this only difference between it and me. And I am all the more willing to surrender my judgment because if things go on as they have been going, we will bear a disgraceful peace and possibly apologize to Spain for sending the *Maine* to the peaceful harbor of Cuba. This bill naturally brings us to a consideration of the necessity that prompts it, and in dealing with that question I ask the indulgence for a few moments of this House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, American honor has been sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. In the interest of stock gamblers masquerading as

"business men" we have for more than a year suffered every outrage that insolence could suggest at the hands of Spain, and still we find this Administration has been advocating peace and begging for time in which to force the patriots in Cuba to make terms with their brutal oppressors. Our inaction under all conditions facing us has been simply disgraceful to us as a nation; but let us hope we have saved the "business interests" of the country. It seems that this same "business interest" knows much more about the course the Executive is to pursue than His Excellency has seen fit to disclose to either House of Congress. The President has not taken Congress into his confidence in the great question which so vitally concerns the dignity and honor of the United States.

He asked Congress for \$50,000,000, and we gave it without a dissenting vote in either House. What did we do it for?

Was it to scare Spain or was it to fight Spain? We gave him our confidence and he sends us a message so utterly useless, so wanting in information, so void of suggestion that a deep sense of disappointment swept over every true loyal American heart in this Hall. And what are we now to expect? Will we need this Army for which this bill provides? Will we need the Navy we are purchasing when the President, by general well-accredited rumor, is to-day writing another peace message and begging the representatives of the people for more and more time in which, I presume, he and Spain can force the Cuban patriots to terms satisfactory to Spain and the "business interests" of the New York and London stock exchanges.

Personally I have long admired the President of the United States. I had hoped much for the Americanism of his Administration. I desired to see it stand in our relations with Spain and Cuba in striking contrast with that which disgraced us under Cleveland. But our hopes have been cruelly disappointed. There has not been two days within the last thirty when any member of Congress or any citizen of this Republic could guess what attitude the President would assume on the next two days. The stock exchange would show peace when we here were expecting war.

Peace was the proper guess, and no wonder, when we consider the surroundings of the Chief Executive of the nation. Look at his Cabinet, oh, my countrymen, and weep! How he ever got

them, the Lord only knows. That they are all gentlemen, I have no earthly doubt. They are too gentle. That is the trouble. They no doubt represent the "business interests," and that ought to satisfy us. Most Presidents have selected statesmen for their Cabinet. One President discovered statesmen for his, but it has been left to the present Executive to invent them.

Now, let us review in the light or darkness of what I have said our relations with Spain. Let us see whether the \$50,000,000 was a necessary investment and whether the present bill is needed. It depends on the question whether or not these United States are beyond insult as a nation. Sirs, I confess a deep sympathy with the struggling patriots of Cuba. No man can indulge this sentiment with more sincerity than one coming from a Territory kept out of the Union by the same conservative policy of delay which has starved Cuba almost into subjection; kept out by the "business interest" which holds the Republican party in the hollow of its hand; prevented by this very Congress from exercising the right to elect their own officers; held under the hard hand of carpetbag rule and treated, so far as liberty is concerned, as cruelly as Spain has treated the Cubans. I say, seeing these things and living under these conditions, I confess to a deep sympathy with the unhappy island at the door of our Gulf.

But as much as these sentiments oppress my heart, I feel a deeper sympathy with our Republic, administered as it now is, for shame is mingled with it, and I cry with the Roman statesman, "How long, O Catiline, will you abuse our patience?" If the "business interest" does not otherwise dictate to its servants, it seems that war is imminent if not inevitable.

When Weyler's brutal order was issued, it was our time to act without delay. When our commerce with Cuba long ago was almost utterly ruined, it was our time to act with American energy and force. When in February, 1897, as told by Richard Harding Davis in the New York Journal, young ladies were stripped and searched on board an American vessel by Spanish soldiers or policemen, after two similar outrages on shore, it was every American's time to act.

When the property of American citizens was destroyed by Spain and citizens of the United States imprisoned in her dungeons,

without trial and without apology and without compensation for the outrage, it was the time for the President to speak the United States language to Spain in the cannon's breath, if need be. All these insults were received with disgraceful equanimity and these epochs for action allowed to pass. A criminal conservatism, enforced, I believe, with the other common people of this country, by bondholders and stock gamblers, has cost us our national honor and poor Cuba 300,000 souls.

A halting and uncertain Executive policy, backed by the wisdom of the Cabinet I have described, urged delay in recognition of Cuban belligerency, prevented; by the aid of the Speaker of this House, the declaration of Cuban independence, and exercised a diplomacy so weak or cowardly that our dead of the *Maine*, from their wandering graves, can admonish us though their voices are still.

While the "business interests" on the Stock Exchange are being protected, 10,000 helpless babes have been tugging at empty though willing breasts until death has come a welcome visitant to relieve the victims of the greater woe of hunger. Such is the harvest you reapers have gathered. Such will ever be the result when business prudence in great emergencies is allowed to usurp the place where action and courage should rule.

Our proud battle ship, riding in fancied security the waters of a peaceful harbor, is blown to atoms by Spanish treachery, our poor sailor boys sent to an ignominious death, and the question involved in this awful crime against us all is subrogated to the "business interests" of the country, and the President coolly informs Congress of the murder and quits at that without one single recommendation, and in all the later correspondence with Spain which has not been withheld from us she not even expresses a regret or confesses a sympathy over these dead heroes.

Across that center aisle in many a breast beats a heart in sympathy with mine. But what can you do? You meet and rebel at night, but come in next day and vote against a resolution declaring the independence of Cuba. You meet and rebel again, but you come in and hang your hats and backbones on the same peg, and come with all the force of a jelly-fish under the eye of your great leader and let the patriots starve while you wait the pleas-

ure of the Chair. This may be good politics, but it is not pure patriotism or decent humanity.

My countrymen, what a beautiful spectacle has been made of us on the field of diplomacy. The President, we have been informed, has brought the insurgents of Cuba and Spain nearly close enough to settle their differences on a money basis. In the meantime, at the expense of millions of dollars, we have been policing our coast to prevent any aid reaching the patriots. Thus we have been the ally of Spain, and are still such in trying to bring these warring people together and lay the heavy hand of taxation—not voluntary—on those who have risked all and lost nearly all in their glorious battle in the holy cause of liberty.

While these diplomatic negotiations were going on and we were preparing for war on the ground of humanity, Spain makes her Spanish promise to retract Weyler's bloody order, to feed the reconcentrados, to return them to their wonted avocations, and deliver every charity which our pity or generosity might forward. She has thus met the gravest charge the President seems to have had against her, for the murder of the *Maine* is left for future negotiation—diplomatic, I presume.

My God! are we to arbitrate a question of blood out of regard for dollars? Are we to receive an Iscariot piece of silver for the betrayal of our country's honor? I speak in no party sense. I speak as an American urging as best I can the exercise of the true unpolitical American spirit which I feel animates your breasts.

These delays have starved Cuba and disgraced us. Your senile diplomacy has met the fate of fools. Even Spain has overmatched us. I commend the courage of this Congress to our sailors and soldiers as an example to shun, or to our disgrace will be added the humiliation of defeat.

I am here reminded of a bit of history touching our relations with Spain which I can not recite without a deep feeling of shame. Do you remember that the *Virginius* in 1873 was escorted out of the harbor of Aspinwall by two American men-of-war, thus acknowledging that the ship was an American ship? She was, when on the high seas, sailing under the American flag, carrying an American charter, seized by a Spanish man-of-war and taken as a prize into Santiago de Cuba, and when she arrived, without any trial,

but on the order of the commanding colonel of the Spanish troops, fifty-odd sailors were taken off board, landed on the shore, stood up against a brick wall, and cruelly shot to death.

The United States demanded and received the ship, and she was sunk off Cape Hatteras in a storm, as reported; but it is believed she was scuttled, as her very structure was evidence of her American build and *prima facie* American ownership. This high-handed act was done by Spain in pursuance of her pronunciamiento that any ship caught aiding the Cuban insurgents should be treated as pirates. Spain never denied the American ownership, but declared her a piratical craft and murdered the men on board. Two years afterwards, by the same diplomacy we are now practicing, we accepted \$80,000 as full indemnity.

No wonder that the caricaturists of Spain represented America as a hog with a large dollar mark on the rear. They have the right to still so represent an Administration who will longer parley with the questions at difference between us. The dollar mark is on this Administration. I do not mean to intimate any personal dishonor, but the groveling worship of the circulating business dollar, the fear of interfering with "business interests," so paralyzes the arm of an Administration which owes its existence to it that virile, game, American patriotism has no chance for action, certainly no chance in this body as now constituted and governed.

I do not hesitate to assert my firm conviction that the real business of this country as represented in productive industries had rather, from a business standpoint, see actual war than to live under its constant threat.

The real business men love this country and will make any sacrifice for its honor. Their interest is enveloped in its ascendancy. Its prosperity means their prosperity. But there is another business in this country that fattens on a fluctuating market. The game wins or loses in proportion to the doubt of war.

Three hundred millions, it is alleged, changed hands between the bulls and the bears in the last war excitement on Wall street, yet that great amount means not one dollar of wealth produced; but it is the "great business interest" which must be protected

and which, wittingly or unwittingly, is being protected by the present policy of this Administration.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it becomes pertinent to ask what course under all the circumstances should be pursued by us. The explosion of the *Maine* would have justified and would still justify our temporary possession of the Island of Cuba and Spain's permanent expulsion.

That has been allowed to pass. I hate hypocrisy, I loathe shams, I abominate pretenses. Let us be honest with ourselves and with the world. The simple truth is Spain is not a pleasant neighbor. She is too close to us; she can not control Cuba; she has no natural right to try. For twenty years and more her efforts in that direction have injured our commerce and hurt our trade with friendly neighbors. We have stood it long enough; we should endure it no longer.

We wage no war of conquest. We do not want Cuba so much as we want peace in Cuba and friendly business relations with all her people. Spain stands in the way of this, and she must be removed. Waiving all questions now of sympathy with those patriots on the island; waiving for this argument all question of the *Maine*, I put my opposition to Spanish control of Cuba on her constant interference with our relations with a close and friendly neighbor. This is enough for me to feel that Cuba shall be free. If this brings war, let it come, and then the shame we have thus far borne and the humiliation we have suffered will be forgotten in the glory of our victories, and we can then feel that some atonement has been made by Spain for the insolence of her behavior and the murder of our men.

Proposed Annexation of Hawaii.

SPEECH
OF
HON. MARCUS A. SMITH,
OF ARIZONA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 13, 1898.

The House having under consideration the joint resolution (H. Res. 259) to provide for annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States—

Mr. SMITH of Arizona said:

Mr. SPEAKER: As a citizen of one of our Western Territories I protest against this unnecessary haste in annexing the Islands of Hawaii to our possessions, and especially do I protest when I believe the real owners of those islands are opposed to annexation. Amid war's excitements and alarm we are apt to be swept from our feet and thrown into paths and policies dangerous to the future government of our country. When the war shall have ended and the smoke of battle cleared from our vision, when we shall have regained the thoughtful and reflective nature of peace, we shall have time enough to pass on these questions thoughtfully, philosophically, and, I trust, wisely.

We had better admit to the Union our Territories before we begin this doubtful deal in islandic real estate.

Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma are in every particular fully qualified for the duties and responsibilities of Statehood. I have so often described the resources of Arizona in committee and on this floor that I will not now detain the House with its repetition. If you willfully refuse to justly or properly govern your present territory, what can we expect for Hawaii and what can she hope for herself when the hand of your avarice and greed is at her throat?

Arizona, the fairest subdivision of North America, with boundless resources, with a population second in energy, enterprise, and education to no Congressional district represented on this floor, has been forced for thirty-five years to pay tribute to the States,

and in all that weary time has received not one cent from the Federal Treasury that was not due as a moral and legal obligation; and while the hand of taxation has been busy with her property, the hand of despotism has kept silent her voice.

I recall an incident in Boston Harbor that made history, yet taxation without representation is as wrong now as it was then, and those of you who impose this on us are degenerate sons of sires who, rather than submit to such exaction, freely pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. I could stand your treatment of us with more equanimity if we were more deserving of it. But we do not deserve it at all.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that Arizona is indeed a land of sunshine and silver; a land where every farmer makes his own rain, where the rewards of industry are as unerring as the decrees of God; a land where wonder treads on beauty's heels and riches rush to meet the earnest seeker; a land whose resources are as varied as the prismatic lights and splendors which bathe her sunsets in resplendent glory. And we cast all these away from our consideration and with avaricious eyes gaze across 2,100 miles of ocean's dreary waste and covet an island filled with a sugar trust, Chinese, Japanese, lepers, hula-hula dancers, and other volcanoes. [Laughter.]

If you prefer this company to our society as a State, we can stand it; but we would like your society better if you were more select, sirs. The greed of empire has led, and will lead, to the destruction of every nation that the world has marshaled on the fields of time.

We are doing pretty well as compared with the nations of the earth. Whatever the proper position is to take with regard to Hawaii hereafter, there is danger in action now. We should not be misled to hasty action by those visiting statesmen who spent nearly eight days in Hawaii and return to us as the representatives of the Hawaiian Republic in urging its admission to the Union. [Laughter.]

I do not like the looks of these Trojan horses—Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. No, sirs; I prefer, in the progress of a nation's prosperity, one wheat field in a former desert waving in full fruitage at the touch of gentle breezes far above the elegance and grace

of any hula-hula dance in the most refined society of any island in all the seas.

In a new nation—and we are yet new and young—it is far better to see one happy home reared by honest Anglo-Saxon hands on the plains of the West than to have added to our body politic any number of Chinese or other alien cheap labor, dominated as they will always be by some enormous combine or trust.

One-tenth of the money you will spend in fortifying Pearl Harbor and providing otherwise for its defense would easily reclaim 5,000,000 acres of desert land in the West, which would easily support a population of English-speaking people of at least 5,000,000 souls. Compare this with what you get in Hawaii and think before you leap. Let not the siren song of some of our singers across the aisle lull our patriotic vigilance into fateful sleep. We have plenty to do at home. We have more land and more resources in Arizona alone, which Congress can easily encourage and perfect, than the whole Hawaiian Islands contain.

Let justice, as well as charity, begin at home. Develop your own Territories before you attempt to acquire other lands. You will divert by this resolution the attention of States away from our western domain and fasten it on undesirable possessions in the seas. A desire to steal from the ignorant inhabitants of the islands will lessen the purpose of working to build homes on the plains or dig treasure from our mountains.

The farther you remove our possessions the more credulous we become in hearing stories of the wealth which remote countries are handing out to all applicants, and swarms of people rush heedlessly over the boundless treasures of the Western plains and mountains to follow this elusive will-o'-the-wisp across the seas. There are many objections to the annexation of these islands other than I have already stated.

The population is objectionable. The last census shows the following:

Natives.....	39,504
Chinese.....	25,407
Japanese.....	21,616
Portuguese.....	15,291
American.....	3,080
German.....	1,432
English.....	2,250

How is our action in taking into our body politic the virus here shown to help us or anybody else except the sugar kings of the islands? We have passed laws against Chinese immigration to this country and have spent vast sums in keeping them out, and yet in this one act you make American citizens, or at least American residents, of 25,000 Chinese, free to leave the cheap wages of Hawaii and come freely into our Western States and directly compete with our educated labor and break down still further the present small compensation given for a day of toil.

Not only this, but the very floodgates of China would be opened upon us through Hawaii. Every applicant for admission would prove by 100 witnesses that he was a resident of Hawaii at the time of its annexation, and the bars would be let down. There is not an intelligent body of organized labor in this country that does not oppose at this time the resolution now before us. Whatever may be the proper course to pursue with these islands hereafter, and I am not now indicating what that course should be, this is of all times the worst to act.

The war which was thrust on us by the brutality of Spain is now in full progress. We are virtually in possession of the Philippine Islands by the unparalleled skill and courage of Dewey and his men. We are preparing to invade Cuba and Puerto Rico. Peace will come some day, and in the settlement of its terms the future policy of this Government toward these islands can be settled all at once, without this Hawaiian precedent as a landmark for our guidance.

Rather than commit my country now to the imperial policy of colonial accretion and colonial government, I would turn the money necessary to such a course to the development of our internal resources, and reap thereby a richer harvest than the wildest dream will ever see growing on these coveted islands.

I live in the West, and I love it and its people. Their hope and mine is to see it grow and flourish, as it will with half the help your course now offers to the foreign hordes I have just mentioned. I am driven by these reflections to an advocacy of further internal improvements instead of preparing by your present policy to increase the Army in time of peace, and thus place labor under a tax to drones and nonproducers. I would put an equal army at

work to make glad the waste places, an army of industrious workingmen employed at fair wages, and bringing into fruitage lands now barren and worthless.

I notice with concern and recognize with disgust the fact that those gentlemen on this floor whose zeal is the most ardent to spend money, incur debts, take risks of foreign complications and domestic discord in aid of a worthless island 2,000 miles and more from any present American harbor, are the very identical gentlemen who refuse to let one dollar go to the necessary development of our Territories and even refuse to give us the right to elect our own officers.

Whatever through your wisdom or folly you may do with these Hawaiian Islands, I pray God you will protect them from the benign rule of present Territorial government. Arizona is more entitled to home rule than these Japs and Chinese are to annexation. I protest against your preference.

Mr. Speaker, I will detain the House no longer, except to give notice, if the opportunity will be permitted me, to move an amendment, by way of a substitute, which will leave Hawaii in statu quo and give statehood to Arizona. If this be ruled out of order, I shall move to amend by adding at the end of the resolution the bill I introduced, the purpose of which was to permit Arizona to elect her own officers. Against that bill no reasonable objection has been urged or can be urged. To refuse this is a political crime. [Applause.]

[NOTE.—Mr. Smith subsequently offered to amend the resolution by adding a home rule provision for Arizona, but the Speaker held the amendment out of order and thus no vote was had on the amendment.]



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